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**PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND SECURITY  
DYNAMICS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**



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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
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**PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND SECURITY  
DYNAMICS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**



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**A thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government in  
fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy  
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Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
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## ABSTRACT

The proliferation of small arms has become a recognised security issue that needs to be responded to by various levels of authority given the fact that, small arms have recently become the most commonly used instruments for internal violence and criminal activities. The phenomenon has far-reaching effects on both human security and the state. Consequently, this study focuses on the menace of small arms; it particularly examines the political, security and socio-economic effects of the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria using fragile state theory. This study employs qualitative research approach. Hence, techniques such as in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were utilised to collect primary data from four categories of participants that include the political figures, government security personnel, academicians and members of the civil societies. Meanwhile, books, journal articles, other printed materials and online sources served as secondary source of data. The data were analysed using thematic method of analysis. Thus, the research findings indicates that the proliferation of small arms has stirred a culture of violence in political undertakings; where arms are used in political activities. The menace threatens the governance thereby frustrating the effort to deal with the situation of conflict and criminal activities. The research findings also shows that the proliferation of small arms has created a sense of insecurity in Kaduna State. Within the socio-economic sphere, the study also reveals that societal settings have been badly affected. Similarly, social services and economic activities have been disrupted. Conversely, lack of political will, security network, poverty, and ethno-religious conflict were found to be the determinants or reasons for the persistence of small arms proliferation in Kaduna State. The study recommends for serious commitment towards addressing security issues, political will on policy formation and implementation, reduction of poverty as well as collaboration with other stakeholders in order to address the issue of proliferation of small arms for a lasting security situation and peaceful political undertakings in the state and beyond.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Insecurity, Kaduna State, Small Arms, Violent Crimes

## ABSTRAK

Proliferasi senjata kecil telah menjadi isu keselamatan yang diakui memerlukan campur tangan kerajaan di pelbagai peringkat kerana semenjak kebelakangan ini, ia yang sering digunakan untuk keganasan dalaman dan aktiviti-aktiviti jenayah. Fenomena ini mempunyai kesan yang meluas terhadap keselamatan insan dan negara. Oleh itu, objektif kajian ini memberi tumpuan kepada proliferasi senjata kecil, dan secara khusus ia mengkaji kesan politik, keselamatan dan sosio ekonomi daripada proliferasi senjata kecil di Negeri Kaduna, Nigeria dengan menggunakan teori *fragile state*. Kajian ini telah mengguna pakai kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif. Temubual secara mendalam dan Perbincangan Kumpulan Sasaran (PKS) telah digunakan untuk mengumpul data primer dari empat kategori responden termasuk tokoh politik, kakitangan agensi keselamatan, ahli akademik dan anggota masyarakat awam. Buku, artikel jurnal, lain-lain bahan bercetak dan sumber dalam talian pula berfungsi sebagai sumber data sekunder. Kaedah analisis kandungan secara tematik telah digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Penemuan penyelidikan menunjukkan bahawa proliferasi senjata kecil telah mendorong kewujudan budaya keganasan untuk tujuan politik, di mana, senjata ini digunakan dalam aktiviti politik. Keadaan itu mengancam tadbir urus, selanjutnya menyukarkan usaha untuk menangani situasi konflik dan kegiatan jenayah. Dapatan kajian juga menunjukkan bahawa fenomena ini telah mewujudkan rasa tidak selamat di kalangan masyarakat awam di negeri Kaduna. Dari sudut sosio ekonomi, dapatan juga mendedahkan bahawa keadaan masyarakat telah terjejas teruk. Begitu juga dari aspek perkhidmatan sosial dan aktiviti ekonomi. Sebaliknya, dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa kekurangan kemahuan politik, kelemahan rangkaian keselamatan, kemiskinan, dan konflik etno-agama didapati menjadi penyebab proliferasi senjata kecil sukar diatasi di negeri Kaduna. Kajian ini mencadangkan agar kerajaan memiliki komitmen yang serius dalam menangani isu-isu keselamatan, kemahuan politik dalam pembuatan dan pelaksanaan dasar, pengurangan kemiskinan dan pengangguran, serta kerjasama dengan pihak berkepentingan lain untuk menangani isu proliferasi senjata kecil bagi mewujudkan keselamatan yang berkekalan dan aktiviti politik yang aman di negeri ini.

**Kata kunci:** Jenayah Keganasan, Konflik, Ketidakselamatan, Negeri Kaduna, Senjata Kecil



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CERTIFICATION OF THESIS .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>PERMISSION TO USE .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRAK .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	7
1.3 Research Questions .....	12
1.4 Research Objectives .....	12
1.5 Significance of the Study .....	13
1.6 Scope of the Study .....	14
1.7 Definition of Key Terms/Concepts .....	15
1.7.1 Small Arms .....	16
1.7.2 Light Weapons.....	16
1.7.3 Proliferation .....	17
1.7.4 Security .....	17
1.7.5 Insecurity .....	18
1.7.6 Conflict .....	19
1.7.7 Security Dynamics .....	20
1.8 Research Methods .....	20
1.8.1 Qualitative Method .....	22
1.8.2 Case Study .....	23
1.8.3 Methods of Data Collection.....	23
1.8.4 Sources of Data.....	24
1.8.4.1 Primary Data .....	25
1.8.4.2 Secondary Data .....	25
1.8.5 Interview Protocols .....	26
1.8.6 Participants Interviewed .....	28
1.8.7 Methods of Data Analysis.....	35
1.8.8 Thematic Method of Analysis.....	35
1.8.9 Credibility and Trustworthiness.....	40
1.9 Chapterisation.....	41
<b>CHAPTER TWO PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS AND FRAGILE STATE.....</b>	<b>44</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	44
2.2 Literature Review .....	45

2.2.1 General Literature Review on Small Arms.....	45
2.2.2 Specific Literature Review on the Proliferation of Small Arms in Nigeria .....	56
2.2.3 The Research Gap .....	66
2.3 Theoretical Framework .....	68
2.3.1 An Overview to Security .....	69
2.3.2 Fragile State Theory.....	73
2.3.2.1 Origin of Fragile State.....	73
2.3.3.2 Major Assumption of the Theory .....	75
2.3.3.3 Fragile State Theoretical Discourse .....	75
2.3.3.4 Fragile State and Small Arms .....	80
2.4 Summary .....	85
<b>CHAPTER THREE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY .....</b>	<b>87</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	87
3.2 The Proliferation of Small Arms in Africa.....	88
3.3 The Proliferation of Small Arms in West Africa.....	92
3.4 The Proliferation of Small Arms in Nigeria .....	93
3.5 The Historical Background of Kaduna State.....	97
3.6 The Nexus between Proliferation of Small Arms with Conflict and Security .....	101
3.6.1 Small Arms and Conflict .....	101
3.6.2 Small Arms and Security .....	103
3.7 Responses to the Proliferation of Small Arms .....	104
3.7.1 The United Nations Responses.....	106
3.7.1.1 The United Nations Program of Action (PoA) .....	107
3.7.2 African Union (AU).....	109
3.7.3 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) .....	110
3.7.4 Nigerian Government on the Proliferation of Small Arms.....	112
3.8 Summary .....	116
<b>CHAPTER FOUR POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA .....</b>	<b>118</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	118
4.2 The Emergence of Small Arms Proliferation in Nigeria .....	120
4.3 Perspectives on the Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms .....	120
4.4 The Political Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms in Kaduna State Nigeria: Thematic Analysis and Interpretation of Participant's Perspectives.....	124
4.4.1 Violence in Political Undertakings .....	127
4.4.2 Threat to Governance.....	132
4.4.3 Violation of Law and Order .....	136
4.4.4 Militarisation.....	139
4.5 The Question of the Political Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms .....	141
4.6 Summary .....	143
<b>CHAPTER FIVE THE EFFECTS OF THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS ON SECURITY SITUATION IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA .....</b>	<b>144</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	144

5.2 Overview of the Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms on Security Situation in Nigeria .....	145
5.3 The Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms on Security Situation in Kaduna State, Nigeria: The Perspectives of the Participants.....	151
5.3.1 Insecurity .....	153
5.3.2 The Growth of Criminal Activities.....	157
5.3.3 Frequent Eruption of Conflict.....	164
5.3.4 Threat to Security Forces.....	167
5.3.5 Absence of Peace .....	169
5.3.6 Internal Displacement.....	172
5.3.7 Fear .....	176
5.4 The Question of Effects of the Proliferation of Small Arms on Security Situation.....	178
5.5 Summary .....	181
<b>CHAPTER SIX THE EFFECTS OF THE PROLIFERATION OF SMALL ARMS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION .....</b>	<b>182</b>
6.1 Introduction .....	182
6.2 Socio-economic Dimension .....	183
6.2.1 Destruction of Societal Settings.....	186
6.2.2 Disruption of Social Services .....	191
6.2.3 Disruption of Economic Activities .....	194
6.2.4 Unemployment.....	198
6.2.5 Waste of Resources.....	200
6.3 The Question of the Effect of the Proliferation of Small Arms on the Socio-economic Dimensions .....	202
6.4 Summary .....	204
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN THE PERSISTENCE OF SMALL ARMS PROLIFERATION IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA .....</b>	<b>205</b>
7.1 Introduction .....	205
7.2 The Proliferation of Small Arms .....	207
7.3 The Determinants or Reasons of the Persistence of the Proliferation of Small Arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria: Thematic Analysis and Interpretation of Participants' Views.....	208
7.3.1 The Political Context .....	209
7.3.1.1 Lack of Political Will and Policy Formulation .....	210
7.3.1.2 Government Failure .....	213
7.3.1.3 Politicisation of Security Apparatus .....	216
7.3.1.4 Corruption .....	218
7.3.2 Security context .....	221
7.3.2.1 Criminality .....	225
7.3.2.2 Possession of Arms for Self-defense.....	229
7.3.2.3 Government Security Personnel.....	235
7.3.2.4 Security Network .....	238
7.3.3 Socio-economic Context.....	240
7.3.3.1 Ethnic and Religious Conflict.....	242

7.3.3.2 Poverty .....	245
7.3.3.3 Local Arms Manufacturing .....	247
7.3.3.4 Economic Gain .....	249
7.4 The Question of the Reasons of the Proliferation of Small Arms: A Diagram .....	252
7.5 Summary .....	256
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>258</b>
8.1 Introduction .....	258
8.2 Summary .....	259
8.3 Major Findings Objective One: The Political Effects .....	261
8.4 Major Findings Objective Two: Security Effects .....	262
8.5 Major Findings Objective Three: Socio-economic Effects .....	262
8.6 Major Research Findings Objective Four: the Determinants of the Proliferation of Small Arms .....	263
8.6.1 Political Context .....	263
8.6.2 Security Context .....	263
8.6.3 Socio-economic Context .....	264
8.7 Research Contributions .....	264
8.7.1 An Overview of the Research Contributions .....	264
8.7.2 The Methodological Contributions .....	266
8.7.3 Practical Contributions .....	267
8.8 Limitation of the study .....	270
8.9 Direction for Further Research .....	271
8.10 Conclusion .....	272
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>275</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>292</b>



## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1.1 Selected Participants and their Category for Interview	33
Table 2.1 Nigeria's Participation in an Effort to Address the Issue of Small Arms and Light Weapons 1990-2006	134
Table 5.1 Armed Robbery Reported Cases in Kaduna State from 2000-2008	160
Table 5.2 Number of Kidnapped Persons in Kaduna State from 2008-2018	162
Table 7.1 Number of Arms Recovered and Types in Kaduna State from 2000-2018	233



## LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.1</i>	Diagram illustrating triangular sources of data	40
<i>Figure 2.1</i>	Map illustrates entrance, manufacture and distribution points of small arms in Nigeria	95
<i>Figure 3.2</i>	Major Characteristics of Fragile State	84
<i>Figure 7.1</i>	Diagram illustrating the major reasons for the persistence of the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria	253



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ATT</b>	Arms Trade Treaty
<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>CASA</b>	Coordinating Action on Small Arms
<b>CAN</b>	Christians Association of Nigeria
<b>ECOWAS</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>IDPs</b>	Internally Displaced Persons
<b>NA</b>	Native Authority
<b>NATCOM</b>	National Committee
<b>NCA</b>	National Coordination Agency
<b>NPC</b>	National Point of Contact
<b>OAU</b>	Organisation of African Unity
<b>PPRO</b>	Police Public Relations Officer
<b>SALW</b>	Small Arms and Light Weapons
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations International Children Fund United Nations Program of Action to Protect, Combat and Eradicate
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>UUM</b>	Universiti Utara Malaysia

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

It is largely acknowledged that small arms are currently the most commonly used instruments for violence and criminal activities. The proliferation of these forms of weapons has its implications on individuals, societal settings as well as security situation.<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon has shattered the global expectation of peace and security especially in Africa and other developing parts of the world to the point that the presence of small arms and their availability undermines peace and stability in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Eloma, Ugwumba & Abang, 2014). This phenomenon was manifested during the Cold War especially in developing countries given the number of arms sent to regions by the contending powers. The phenomenon has become a prominent global security issue after the Cold War due to lethal and destructive nature of small arms. Moreover, since 1998, it has become an issue of considerable concerns in the international agenda (Otuya, 2009). It is an instrumental activity that threatens the survival of developing nations of the world. It has been reported that small arms have remained in circulation despite the mounting international and regional initiatives to contain their proliferation, possession and illegal use (Ogu, 2014). The former United Nations Secretary General describes that:

---

<sup>1</sup> Small arms survey (2010) small arms proliferation poses threat to human societies; causes violence against humanity and deteriorates insecurity situation.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Participants for Interviews and Focus Group Discussion

Participant A1: Special Adviser to the Government on Security Matters, Kaduna State Government. (September, 16<sup>th</sup> 2017). State Headquarters, Operation Yaki and Security, Kaduna

Participant A2: Honourable Member Kaduna State House of Assembly Chairman House Committee on Security. (October, 16<sup>th</sup> 2017). Lugard House, State House of Assembly Complex, Kaduna

Participant A3: Council Chairman, Kadan Local Government Council, Kaduna State (16<sup>th</sup> November, 2017). Zaria Hotel, Zaria, Kaduna State

Participant A4: Honourable Commission Minister for Information Kaduna State (5<sup>th</sup> December, 2018). Ministry of Information State Headquarter

Participant A5: Distinguished Senator Representing Kaduna at National Assembly, (December, 8<sup>th</sup> 2018). National Assembly Complex, Abuja, Nigeria

Participant A6: Council Chairman Chukun Local Government Council Kaduna State (December, 15<sup>th</sup> 2018). Local Government Secretariat Kujama Chukun, Kaduna State

Participant A7: Council Chairman Zagon Kataf Local Government Council Kaduna State (December, 20<sup>th</sup> 2018). Little Italy Hotel, Kaduna

Participant B1: Assistant Superintendent of Police (August, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017) Police Area Command Headquarter Zaria, Kaduna State

Participant B2: Deputy Superintendent of Police (October, 20<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna State Police Command Headquarter, Kaduna

Participant C1: Professor of Criminology (October, 17<sup>th</sup> 2017). Faculty of Social Sciences Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Participant C2: Professor of Conflict and security (October, 19<sup>th</sup> 2017). Faculty of Social Sciences Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

Participant C3: Senior Lecturer (November, 5<sup>th</sup> 2017). Faculty of Social Sciences, Kaduna State University, Kaduna

FGD D1: Member of Civil Society, Conflict Resolution and Peace Advocacy (October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D2: Member of Civil Society, Conflict Resolution and Peace Advocacy (October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D3: Member of Civil Society, Conflict Resolution and Peace Advocacy  
(October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D4: Member Civil Society; Movement for Peace and Good Governance  
(October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D5: Member Civil Society; Movement for Peace and Good Governance,  
(October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D6: Member Civil Society; Movement for Peace and Good Governance,  
(October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017). Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D7: Member Civil Society; Arewa People Congress (October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017).  
Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D8: Member Civil Society; Arewa People Congress (October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017).  
Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna

FGD D9: Member Civil Society; Arewa People Congress (October, 15<sup>th</sup> 2017).  
Kaduna Multi-purpose Centre, Kaduna





## **INTERVIEW GUIDE: QUESTIONS**

### **Phase I**

- a. What are the political effects of the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State Nigeria?
- b. To your opinion, in which ways does the proliferation of small arms affect political activities in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- c. How can you explain the extent of the effect of the proliferation of small arms on political setting in Kaduna State, Nigeria?

### **Phase II**

- a. How does the proliferation of small arms affect the security situation in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- b. To what extent does the proliferation of small arms affect the security of the individuals in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- c. In which manner does the security of the state affected by the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria?

### **Phase III**

- a. How does the proliferation of small arms affect socio-economic dimension in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- b. How can you describe the extent in which the proliferation of small arms affects social activities in Kaduna State?

- c. In which particular ways does the proliferation of small arms affect economic activities in Kaduna State, Nigeria?

#### Phase IV

- a. Why does of small arms proliferation persist in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- b. What are the specific political reasons that are behind the persistence of small arms proliferation in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- c. What can you consider as the specific security reasons for the persistence of the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria?
- d. To your own view, what specific socio-economic reasons contributed to the persistence of the proliferation of small arms in Kaduna State, Nigeria?



Appendix C: Some Types of Small Arms in West Africa



*Source:* Inter-governmental action group against money laundering in West Africa (2013)

Appendix D: a non-gun local small arm



*Source:* Field work (2017)

Appendix E: Picture shows Arms Gangs (Specialist of Violence) Recruit by some Corrupt Politicians in Nigeria



*Source:* Small Arms and Light Weapons Proliferation and Human Security in Nigeria (2010)



Appendix F: Arm Gangs arrested with the small arms by the Police in Kaduna



*Source:* Nigeria Police Kaduna (2017)

Appendix G: Specialist of violence (Thugs) captured by the Nigerian Army



*Source:* Nigeria Police Kaduna (2018)

Appendix H: Armed Gang captured by the Nigeria Police along Kaduna-  
Abuja Road



*Source:* Nigeria Police Kaduna (2017)